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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 918
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 7640

EXDIS USSALTTWO

EO 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF SEPT 7,I1977
(SALT TWO-1386)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY MINISTER SEMENOV
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF SEPT 7,I1977:

SEMENOV STATEMENT, SEPTEMBER 7, 1977
THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AND THE
PROTOCOL THERETO, AS WELL AS THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE JOINT
STATEMENT OF BASIC GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS
ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHICH HAVE
BEEN PREPARED BY THE DRAFTING GROUP PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS
FROM THE DELEGATIONS,IREFLECT THE STATUS AS OF AUGUST 30,1977,
ACHIEVED IN THE COURSE OF THE WORK HERE. WE BELIEVE THAT, IN
CONNECTION WITH THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS IN THE U.S. AT
A DIFFERENT LEVEL DURING THE LATTER PART OF SEPTEMBER 1977,
THE DELEGATIONS SHOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ENSURE FUR-
THER PROGRESS ON THE ISSUES ASSIGNED TO US.
TO BE SURE, THE DOCUMENTS PREPARED AS OF AUGUST 30, 1977
STILL CONTAIN PROVISIONS REQUIRING FURTHER WORK TO BRING THE
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POSITIONS CLOSER TOGETHER AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON CORREQ-
PONDING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE FOR INCLUSION IN THE
JOINT DRAFT TEXTS.
AMONG THEM IS THE IMPORTANT QUESTION OF MOBILE ICBM
LAUNCHERS AND MISSILES FOR SUCH LAUNCHERS.
IN ITS STATEMENT AT THE AUGUST 19, 1977 MEETING THE
U.S. DELEGATION SPOKE IN FAVOR OF SEARCHING FOR WAYS TO

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ELIMINATE REMAINING DIFFERENCES IN WORDING IN THIS AREA.
I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE OBLIGATION PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE FOR INCLUSION IN ARTICLE I OF THE PROTOCOL TO THE NEW AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR A BAN ON THE TESTING, AS WELL AS THE DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS AND MISSILES FOR SUCH LAUNCHERS. AS ALREADY STATED HERE, AT THE MEETINGS OF AUGUST 9 AND 12,I1977 AMONG OTHERS,IIT IS PRECISELY SUCH COMPREHENSIVENESS AND COMPLETENESS OF THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES ON THIS ISSUE THAT WOULD ENSURE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MEASURE BEING PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE I OF THE PROTOCOL AS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.
TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED BY THE U.S.IDELEGATION, THE USSR DELEGATION CLARIFIED THAT THE TERM "NOT TO TEST" USED IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WITH RESPECT TO MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS CORRESPONDS IN MEANING TO THE CONCEPT OF TESTING AS USED BY THE SIDES IN THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT DRAFT, IN PARTICULAR, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROVI-SIONS BEINB WORKEDOUT FOR ARTICLE II, PARA. 1.
THIS ENSURES THAT THE OBLIGATION THE SIDES WILL ASSUME UNDER ARTICLE I OF THE PROTOCOL WILL BE UNAMBIGUOUS, THUS PRECLUDING AMBIGUITIES AND ARTIBRARY INTERPRETATIONS.
OF COURSE, IF THE U.S.IDELEGATION HAS SOME ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS IN THIS CONNECTION, THEY COULD BE CONSIDEREDM
THE UNDERSTANDING IN PRINCIPLE REACHED BY THE SIDES,
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TO RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT, DETERMINES THE SPECIFICS OF THIS PROBLEM IN TERMS OF WORKING OUT THE FORMULATIONS OF THE DRART TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT ITSELF. PROVISIONS WHICH WOULD PRESUPPOSE THE POSSIBILITY THAT WITH-OUT AN UNDERSTANDING WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM THE DETERMINED EFFORTS OF THE SIDES AT THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS SUCH LAUNCHERS WOULD BE, SO TO SPEAK,IAUTOMATICALLY PERMITTED AFTER EXPIRATION OF THE PROTOCL, WOULD BE UTTERLY INCON-SISTENT WITH THE OBJECTIVES AND TASKS OF THE AGREEMENT PRESENTLY UNDER PREPARATION, FROM A POLITICAL STANDPOINT AS WELL.
WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN THE TASK OF WORKING TOWARD CURBING THE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, TOWARD LIMITING AND SUBSEQUENTLY REDUCING THEM. AND THIS TASK CANNOT AND MUST NOT BE OBSCURED BY RESORTING TO ANY KIND OF ARGUMENTS OF A GENERAL NATURE.
INASMUCH AS THE QUESTION OF MOBILE LAUNCHERS IS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE PROTOCOL WHICH IS TO HAVE A THREE-YEAR TERM AND IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, AND SINCE IT IS ENVISAGED THAT DURING THIS PERIOD THE QUESTION OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS WILL BE APPROPRIATELY RESOLVED BY

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THE SIDES--AND, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROPOSAL TABLED BY

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 7640

EXDIS USSALTTWO

THE SOVIET SIDE, THIS MUST ALSO BE SPECIALLY NOTED IN THE DRAFT BEING WORKED OUT FOR THE JOINT STATEMENT OF BASIC GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS-ATHE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT ITSELF MUST NOT CONTAIN ANYTHING THAT WOULD PREDETERMINE THE RESULTS OF CONSIDERATION OF THIS QUESTION IN THE COURSE OF THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTATIONS. IN ESSENCE, INSOFAR AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES ON THIS SCORE, AND THE QUESTION IS HOW TO REFLECT ALL THIS IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT.

BASED ON THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS,ITHE USSR DELEGATION EXPRESSES ITS WILLINGNESS TO DELETE THE WORD "FIXED" IN SUBPARS.I5(A), (B) AND (C) OF ARTICLE IV, CURRENTLY BRACKETED THERE WITH FOOTNOTE 1, ON CONDITION OF DELETION OF ARTICLE III,IPAR. 6, THE REFERENCES TO MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS IN ARTICLE IV, PARA. 6, AND IN ARTICLE VI, SUBPAR.I 2(B), DELETION OF ARTICLE VI, SUBPAR. 3 (B), AND OF THE WORDS "UNITS OR BASES" IN ARTICLE IV, SUBPAR.I5(A), BRACKETED WITH FOOTNOTE 2. OF COURSE A CORRESPONDING CHANGE WOULD ALSO BE MADE IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT TO THIS PARAGRAPH (PAR. 5) OF ARTICLE IV.

IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THAT AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD, BOTH DELEGATIONS, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE DEFINITION OF ICBM

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LAUNCHERS IN ARTICLE II, PARA. 1, IS UNIVERSAL, AND THUS ENSURES THAT ALL LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS WILL BE COUNTED WITHIN THE OVERALL AGGREGATE LIMITATION BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE AGREEMENT.IIN THIS SENSE THE AGREED PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE III, PARS. 1 AND 2,IARE ALSO UNIVERSAL, AS ALREADY STATED HERE.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE ABOVE PROPOSAL WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD REACHING FURTHER AGREEMENT ON THE JOINT TEXT ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL ACCEPTABILITY.

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